

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IR

SUBJ: GOP- GOI COMMUNICATIONS ON SOUTH ASIA PROBLEMS

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO NEW DELHI DACCA BERN
FROM ISLAMABAD 09 JUN 73:

QUOTE ISLAMABAD 4728

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IN, BG, PK

SUBJ: GOP- GOI COMMUNICATIONS ON SOUTH ASIA PROBLEMS

REFS: NEW DELHI 6665 AND 6666; ISLAMABAD 4721 (NOTAL);
STATE 110135

SUMMARY: HAVING ATTEMPTED EXEGESIS OF THE CASE OF THE
TWO AIDE- MEMOIRES, WE ARE STILL NOT SURE THE TRUTH IS
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OBVIOUS, AT LEAST WITH REGARD TO GOP INTENT TO DECEIVE US. BOTH AIDE- MEMOIRES ARE MAINLY BOILERPLATE, AND A BETTER INDICATION ABOUT GOP INTENTIONS ON NEGOTIATING WITH GOI MAY POSSIBLY BE FOUND IN ISLAMABAD' S PRIVATE AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS TO NEW DELHI. I AM ESPECIALLY SORRY THE SWISS HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSED. END SUMMARY.

1. HAVING HAD TIME TO REVIEW THE TWO FAMOUS GOP AIDE MEMOIRES DELIVERED BY SWISS TO GOI, WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE PRETTY MUCH STANDARD GOP BOILERPLATE. BASIC POSITIONS ARGUED SO FIRMLY THEREIN ARE ONES GOP HAS BEEN OFFERING TO ANYONE WHO WOULD LISTEN, ALTHOUGH THE TWO PAPERS DO TAKE ACCOUNT OF NEGOTIATING SITUATION AS IT HAS DEVELOPED SINCE DELHI DECLARATION OF APRIL 17. WE THINK POSSIBLE THAT MAY 11 PAPER MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY TAILORED FOR SWISS IN LIGHT OF THEIR PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY AS DEPOSITORY STATE ON GENEVA CONVENTIONS. MAY 25 PAPER, ON OTHER HAND, DOES NOT SEEM TAILORED WITH ANY PARTICULAR ADDRESSEE IN MIND.

2. DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TOLD HERE, DENYING KNOWLEDGE OF ANY GOP MESSAGES TO GOI THIS SUBJECT SINCE AZIZ AHMED' S LETTER OF MAY 16, CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO SIMPLE LYING OR TO SOME CONFUSION. OFFHAND, WE ARE NOT ABLE TO THINK WHY BHUTTO AND GOP WOULD DELIBERATELY LIE TO US. THEY ASSUME NORMALLY THAT WE ARE PRETTY WELL INFORMED, AND IT WOULD BE PRETTY STUPID TO LIE OUTRIGHT ABOUT A MATTER ON WHICH WE HAD ALREADY INDICATED WE WERE INFORMED. I MIGHT ADD THAT I HAVE NOT YET FOUND PRESIDENT BHUTTO TO HAVE LIED OUTRIGHT TO US ON ANY MATTER DURING SEVERAL YEARS I HAVE KNOWN HIM HERE.

3. OTHER THEORY IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME MORE OR LESS HONEST CONFUSION, HARD AS THIS MAY BE FOR SOME TO SWALLOW. IF THAT WERE CASE, IT MIGHT POSSIBLY REVOLVE ON ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE TWO FAMOUS AIDE MEMOIRES. WHILE THEY EXIST AND THEIR CONTENT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF, IT MAY BE THAT THEY WERE NOT INTENDED AT LEAST IN FIRST INSTANCE FOR GOI. WHEN I INQUIRED ABOUT MESSAGES SENT FROM GOP TO GOI, PAKS MAY HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATING ON MESSAGES CONFIDENTIAL

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ADDRESSED IN FIRST INSTANCE BY THEM TO GOI (SUCH AS AZIZ AHMED' SERIES) RATHER THAN ON MORE GENERAL PAPERS, COPIES OF WHICH THEY APPARENTLY ASKED SWISS TO SUPPLY TO INDIANS.

4. WE ARE NOT HOLDING COURT OF INQUIRY, AND I PREFER TO WITHHOLD JUDGMENT ON WHICH OF ABOVE THESES IS TRUE. IF

IT WERE CONSIDERED IMPORTANT, WE COULD GO TO MFA NOW THAT WE KNOW MORE ABOUT THE TWO AIDE- MEMOIRES AND TRY TO PIN THEM TO THE MAT. BUT I AM NOT INCLINED TO DO THAT UNLESS THE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY NEW DELHI REQUEST IT.

5. WE AGREE WITH BOTH EMBASSY DELHI AND DEPARTMENT ON INADVISABILITY OF OUR BECOMING ENMESHED IN SPECIFICS OF GOP/ GOI DOCUMENTS TO EACH OTHER. CERTAINLY SINCE APRIL 17, NO SUCH DOCUMENT HAS BEEN OFFERED US BY GOP AND WE HAVE REQUESTED NONE. I TRUST, HOWEVER, THAT WE (AS SURELY EMBASSY DELHI AND DEPARTMENT) HAVE ENOUGH OF BALANCED VIEW NOT TO BE SHAMEFULLY TAKEN IN IF ONE OR THE OTHER GOVERNMENT WANTED TO SHARE SOME INFORMATION OR EVEN A PIECE OF PAPER WITH US. ON THIS I AGREE WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO' S SUGGESTION (FINAL SENTENCE, PARA ONE STATE REFTEL).

6. AS TO ACTUAL GOP INTENTIONS ON SUBSTANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH INDIA, WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT GOP' S MIND IS BETTER READ IN MESSAGES ADDRESSED DIRECTLY BY GOP TO GOI (SUCH AS AHMED LETTERS TO SWARAN SINGH) THAN IN BOILERPLATE WHICH INEVITABLY HAS MORE THAN A TINGE OF PROPAGANDA. IT IS NOT TOO UNUSUAL FOR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRIVATE, PERSONAL MESSAGES AND OTHERS DIRECTED PRESUMABLY TO A WIDER AUDIENCE.

7. FINALLY, FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH WE HAVE NOT NOTED ANY SENSITIVITY ON PART OF BHUTTO OR MFA OVER MY UNFORTUNATE ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT WE HAD GOTTEN SOME INFORMATION FROM THE SWISS. THEY ACTUALLY SEEM TO WANT TO KEEP US PRETTY WELL INFORMED. I APPRECIATE AMBASSADOR REAL' S CONCERN, NONETHELESS, AND WILL KEEP FINGERS CROSSED IN HOPE THIS PARTICULAR FLAP WILL SUBSIDE WITHOUT ANY REAL DAMAGE. AT EMBASSY DELHI' S DISCRETION, IT MAY CONVEY MY SINCERE
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REGRETS TO REAL. SOBER UNQUOTE RUSH

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